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"Eliza Haywood at the Sign of Fame"

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Eliza Haywood, one of the most prolific and versatile writers of the eighteenth-century, is of interest to book historians today partly because she was active as a publisher in Covent Garden in the early 1740s. Little is known concerning this venture, but since practically nothing is known of Haywood’s private life, this little is of great importance to Haywood scholars. In my 1999 paper, “Shameless Scribbler or Votary of Virtue,” I brought together the small amount of information I had at that time concerning Haywood’s “Sign of Fame.”

1 Since 1915 a small number of critics have noted and commented on the advertisement for works published at “The Sign of Fame,” which appears in The Virtuous Villager, or Virgin’s Victory (London: Francis Cogan, 1742), 1.332. George Frisbie Whicher, The Life and Romances of Mrs Eliza Haywood (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915), 22–23, was the first to mention it, but he says little. Walter and Clare Jerrold state that they were unable to find any books with this imprint, but that “[i]t is possible that Mrs. Haywood was living in Covent-Garden, and that she acted as an agent for the sale of her own books.” See Walter and Clare Jerrold, Five Queer Women (New York: Brentano’s Ltd., 1929), 257–58.


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In 2004, in my Bibliography of Eliza Haywood, I was able to add a few more details and to provide a chronological list of works published by Haywood, or sold by her under the imprint “in the Great Piazza, Covent Garden.” Even in my later account, however, significant questions remained unanswered.

The purpose of this article is to announce the discovery of important new information concerning Haywood’s publishing activities, information that helps to provide answers to questions such as the exact location of the Sign of Fame and how long the business lasted. This new information has striking implications for our interpretation of Haywood’s success as an author and publisher, as it indicates an unexpectedly high level of affluence for one who has sometimes been imagined—despite the lack of available information—as a quintessential Grub-Street hack, struggling to live in one miserable garret after another, only to die in obscurity and poverty.

The nine works I listed in 2004 in section Da. of my Bibliography, under the title “Works published by Haywood,” and the one work listed in section Db. under the title “Works sold by Haywood,” are:

Da.1 Anti-Pamela: or, Feign’d Innocence Detected (1741); reissued by Haywood by 18 March 1742.

2 Robert Day, Told in Letters: Epistolary Fiction Before Richardson (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1966), 80: “we have considerable evidence to show that Tom Brown...Mrs Haywood, were often in the most serious financial difficulties”; Helene Koon, “Eliza Haywood and the Female Spectator,” Huntington Library Quarterly 42 (1978): 44: “Her days as a literary lioness were over, and she died in obscurity on February 25, 1756, with two novels ready for the printer”; Deborah J. Nestor, “Virtue Rarely Rewarded: Ideological Subversion and Narrative Form in Haywood’s Later Fiction,” Studies in English Literature 34 (1994): 595, n6: “evidence suggests that Haywood was in serious financial difficulties at the time of her death”; Catherine Inglass, Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England: A Culture of Paper Credit (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 80: “Of course Haywood’s popularity did not translate into extensive financial remuneration”; ibid., 81 “Unlike Pope, Haywood did not amass a large sum of money.” In 1991, Christine Blouch mistakenly claimed that a “Mrs Haywood” on New Peter Street was assessed no money (other residents of the street averaged eight pounds); this claim was repeated in 2000 and has been widely quoted. As well as mistaking the volume number and date, and misinterpreting the rack-rent for a property assessment, the name in the volume Blouch is referring to is actually for a “Mrs Haynes”; at the time of her death, Haywood was residing at 2 Cowley Street, Westminster, paying an annual rent of £22 and a Poor Rate tax of 11s. See Christine Blouch, “Eliza Haywood and the Romance of Obscurity,” Studies in English Literature 31 (1991): 552 n58; Spedding, Bibliography, 274; Westminster Archive: Poor Rate Book E398, St. Margaret’s Parish, St. John’s Ward (5 May 1756), 37.
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Da.2 The Busy-Body: or, Successful Spy (1741); reissued by Haywood by 18 March 1742.
Da.3 The Sublime Character of his Excellency Somebody (1741); published by Haywood in December 1741.
Da.4 The Ghost of Eustace Budget Esqr. to the Man in Blue (London: Eliza Haywood, [1742]); published ca. 2 February 1742.
Da.6 The Virtuous Villager, or Virgin’s Victory (London: Eliza Haywood, 1742); published 18 March 1742.
Da.7 A Remarkable Cause on a Note of Hand (London: Eliza Haywood, 1742); published 3 April 1742.
Da.8 The Equity of Parnassus: A Poem (London: C. Corbett et al., 1742); published 7 February 1744.
Da.9 A Letter from H—G—g (London: [Eliza Haywood], 1750); published 30 November 1749.
Db.1 Europe’s Catechism (London: [Anne Dodd], 1741); advertised by Haywood on 25 February 1742.

Of these ten items, no copies are known of the first three (Da.1–3). Another two titles are not dated on the works themselves (Da.4–5) and I was unable to find any advertisements to establish an exact date of publication for them. As a result, considerable uncertainty remained in 2004 concerning the sequence in which these titles were published.

Also troubling to me in 2004 was the twenty-two month gap between the publication of Da.7 A Remarkable Cause and Da.8 The Equity of Parnassus, and the almost six-year gap between the appearance of this latter title and Da.9 A Letter from H—G—g. Since Haywood does not appear in the imprint of Da.9 A Letter from H—G—g, and since it is clear from manuscript records that in 1749 she was neither living in Covent Garden nor selling books from a shop there, this last title was not published “at the Sign of Fame.” And, because Haywood was only a distributor of Da.8 The Equity of Parnassus, her shop sign is not named, nor are those of the other three booksellers. Consequently, as I

5 The full imprint reads: “Printed for C. Corbett, Bookseller and Publisher, at Addison’s Head, opposite St. Dunstan’s Church, Fleet-street. And sold by Mrs. Nut and Mrs. Cooke, at the Royal Exchange, Mrs. Dodd at Temple Bar; and at Mrs. Haywood’s, in the great Piazza, Covent Garden.”
stated in my *Bibliography*, “It is not known for certain that Haywood continued at the Sign of Fame between 1742 and 1744.”

Some of the confusion concerning these publication dates has now been resolved thanks to Gale’s landmark text-base “17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers” (hereafter BCN text-base) which was launched late in 2007. The information in my *Bibliography* was based on close scrutiny of the *Early English Newspapers (EEN)* microfilm collection, issued by Research Publications in 1983. The *EEN* collection appears to reproduce all of the Burney newspapers (and the British Library still describes the *EEN* bibliography and guide as providing a “catalogue” of the Burney newspapers, suggesting that the microfilm series offers comprehensive coverage of the collection). In fact, it is now clear that *EEN* does not contain the complete Burney collection, since a number of important newspapers are available for searching on the BCN text-base that are not on *EEN*. Since the British library (rightly) prefers scholars to use the *EEN* microfilms rather than the original Burney newspapers, it is not surprising that the advertisements which I quote below from the BCN text-base have not previously been noticed.

The BCN finds reported in this article fall into four categories: [1] advertisements that offer a more accurate dating of known items, [2] advertisements for works previously unidentified as published by Haywood and [3] works previously unidentified as sold by Haywood, [4] finds that provide more information about Haywood’s publishing venture.

Concerning the first of these: two of the ten items listed above can now been more accurately dated and, as a consequence, it is now clear that one of them—Da. 4 *The Ghost of Eustace Budgel*—should appear later in the chronological sequence than it does in my *Bibliography*. I dated this illustrated political ballad to ca. 2 February 1742 on internal evidence in 2004, but *The London Evening-Post* carried an advertisements on 1 April, which suggests that the engraving appeared a couple of months after the fall of Walpole. The advertisement is worth quoting in full. It reads:

*This Day is Publish’d, Price 1 s. (Mos humbly Inscrib’d to his Royal Highness the Prince of ales) on a Sheet of Royal Paper, A Poetical, Prophetical, Musi[c]al and Emblematical Print, entitled The*

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Gho[s]t of Eustace Budgel, Esq; to the Man in Blue. Being an entire new Taste, calculated to hit every Body's; it will please all True Patriots and True Britons, and make those laugh that are neither. For the Men of no Party it will serve as an Ornament in their Houses; and it will highly divert the Ladies at their Spinets, their Toylets or Tea-Tables. N.B. There are some on Imperial Paper for the Curious. Printed for Eliza Haywood, at Fame under the Piazza, Covent-Garden; and sold by the Print and Pamphlet Shops of London and Westminter.

The only copy of this print known to survive is on a sheet measuring ca. 16 x 21 inches (420 x 540mm)—not 5 x 9 inches (125 x 230mm) as I mistakenly reported in 2004—which is marginally smaller than the average for French Royal paper in 1741. Any future edition of my Bibliography will, therefore, need to contain an entry for each issue of The Ghost of Eustace Budgel: Da.4.1a: the (lost) Imperial, or large-paper issue, as evidenced by this advertisement; and Da.4.1b: the standard, or Royal-paper issue, represented by the exemplar in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. The entry for this title should also appear between Da.6 The Virtuous Villager (published 18 March 1742) and Da.7 A Remarkable Cause (published 3 April 1742).

The other work which can be more accurately dated is Da.3 The Sublime Character of his Excellency Somebody which was advertised in The Daily Post on 15 and 22 December 1741. (This poem was previously dated only from a listing in the Gentleman's Magazine.) Since no copy of

8 Spedding, Bibliography, 683. Frederick George Stephens, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum (1877; repr. London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1978), vol. 3, pt.1, 439-40 (no. 2555) reports the size of the two central illustrated panels of this print as 5 x 9 inches (ca. 125 x 230mm) for the left panel and 6 x 9 inches (ca. 160 x 230mm) for the right. The first of these was erroneously reported in my Bibliography as the size of the whole print. The size given in text is a corrected estimate is based on a measurement of prints from the microfilm reproduction available in English Cartoons and Satirical Prints in the British Museum, 1320-1831, 21 reels (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1978).

9 Philip Gaskell reports the typical sizes for French printing papers in 1741 as: Royal, ca. 17 x 23 inches (435 x 595mm); Imperial: ca. 22 x 33 inches (575 x 860mm). English sizes were typically 20 x 26 inches (510 x 660mm) for Royal and 19 x 27 inches (490 x 700mm) for Imperial in 1781. See Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 73 (table 3).

10 If such an edition is published, as I hope, it is highly unlikely that this—or any other—entry will be renumbered given the confusion that such renumbering can cause.
the first edition of The Sublime Character survives, and The Daily Advertiser refused to advertise it, the advertisements in The Daily Post provide valuable information concerning this edition,\(^\text{11}\) as well as indicating the jocular marketing Haywood favoured: “This Day is publish’d, Price 6 d. To be said or sung at Christmas Gambols...For the Amusement of Everybody.”

The second category of BCN finds are advertisements for works previously unidentified as published by Haywood. Of these there is only one: The Humours of Whist: A Dramatic Satire, as Acted Every Day at White’s, and Other Coffee-Houses and Assemblies (London: J. Roberts, 1743). The Humours of Whist was published on 6 May 1743; it was first advertised by—and appeared with the imprint of—James Roberts, a trade publisher.\(^\text{12}\) In January 1744, it was readvertised as “Printed for Eliza Haywood, at the Sign of Fame, in the Great Piazza, Covent Garden” in a series of advertisements in The Daily Advertiser.\(^\text{13}\) A decade later it was reprinted for Mary Cooper under the title The Polite Gamester: Or, The Humours of Whist.\(^\text{14}\) In fact, there are two issues of this Cooper edition, only one of which has the attribution “by S— F—, Esq.” on the title-page, an attribution that also appears in advertisements.

The first edition of The Humours of Whist was also reissued in the first volume of The Diverting Jumble: Or, They Shall Be Saved. Being a Collection of Pamphlets on Various Subjects, Which Have Been Heretofore Published, and Tho’ Well Received by the Public, Might Have Perished in Grocers, Cheesemongers, and Chandlers Shops, had they not been Carefully Preserved and Collected Together. By Obadiah Bookworm, Secretary to the Bibliopoles, and Fellow of the C[heese]. Society (London: Thomas Harris, 1747). This two-volume collection, which also contains William Hatchett’s The Chinese Orphan, was advertised by Thomas Harris between 22 October 1747 and 16 September 1749, then five years later by Charles Corbett between 3 August 1754 and

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\(^\text{11}\) The advertisement suggests that text on the title-page of the lost first edition (Da.3.1) is fully reproduced on the title-page of the second edition (Da.3.2), with the exception of the six-line Latin motto, which was added following the drop-title of the latter. The pusillanimous action of The Daily Advertiser is mentioned in an advertisement that was published in The Champion, 25 February 1741 [=1742], No.358.


\(^\text{13}\) The Daily Advertiser, 10, 11, 12, 13 January 1744.

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22 February 1755. (I will have more to say about this collection shortly.) Cooper's new edition of The Polite Gamester was released on 13 February 1753, in the gap between these two runs of advertisements.

The Humours of Whist: A Dramatic Satire is, as Frederic Jessel noted in 1905, "a satire on the fashion of whist playing, which received so great a stimulus from the treatise and teaching of Hoyle, who appears in the play as 'Professor Whiston.'" When Lord Slim asks "How did you like the last edition of his [Hoyle's] Treatise with the Appendix, Sir Calculation? I mean that sign'd with his Name," Sir Calculation enthuses:

O Gad. my Lord, there never was so excellent a Book printed.—I'm quite in Raptures with it—I will eat with it—sleep with it—go to Court with it—go to Parliament with it—go to Church with it,—I pronounce it the Gospel of Whist-Players; and the Laws of the Game ought to be wrote in Golden Letters, and hung up in Coffee-houses, as much as the Ten Commandments in Parish Churches...I want words to express the Author, and can look on him in no other Light than as a second Newton...I have join'd twelve Companies in the Mall, and eleven of them were talking of it.—It's the Subject of all Conversation, and has had the Honour to be introduced into the Cabinet. (15-16)

Although David Erskine Baker was unimpressed ("It is...very far from being well executed") it is actually quite a "witty and amusing brochure" as a later critic states. Jessel pays particular attention to the

15 Harris advertisements: Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, 22 October 1747, 8, 13, 17, 22, 27 September, 1, 11, 25, 29 October 1748, 29 July, 17 August, 9, 16 September 1749; Corbett advertisements: Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer, 3, 8 August, 12 October 1754, 22 February 1755.

16 Frederic Jessel, Bibliographies of Works in English on Playing Cards and Gaming (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1905), 151 (nos. 874-75).

17 Hoyle authorised copies (with his signature) of the second and later editions of A Short Treatise on The Game of Whist to protect it from piracy. See Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany, 12 March 1743, which states that Hoyle "will not undertake to explain any Case, but in such Copies as have been set forth by himself, or that are authorized as revised or corrected under his own Hand."


“curious epilogue”: but the Advertisement, Prologue and Epilogue are all of interest, particularly in relation to the question of authorship.

As explained above, the second Cooper issue of the play is attributed, on the title-page and in advertisements, to “S— F—, Esq.” These initials may have been intended to suggest Samuel Foote, but Foote published no plays until the 1750s, and it is highly unlikely that he is the author. There is presently no way of knowing whether the 1753 attribution was an opportunistic advertising ploy or an accurate— if cryptic—reference to the author. If it is the former, and the field of authors is open, one could be forgiven for suspecting Hatchett of writing this play. Haywood published other works by Hatchett, which may be considered a piece of primary evidence in his favor, but since she also published works not by him it is not of much value. Hatchett also wrote other closet dramas, favored dramatic satire, and had a penchant for the sort of fanciful, autobiographical dramatization that is represented by the Epilogue (“A Dialogue between the Author and Bookseller’’); but this stylistic evidence is of even less value.

Hatchett was a man of his time and many other authors were capable of writing the same sort of closet drama he favored. For this reason, and the fact that there is primary evidence for “S— F—, Esq.” this play belongs among my Da. sequence (Works published by Haywood) between Da.7 A Remarkable Cause (published 3 April 1742) and Da.8 The Equity of Parnassus (published 7 February 1744).

20 “It was intended, we suppose, that the above initials should be taken for Samuel Foote.” David Erskine Baker, Isaac Reed, and Stephen Jones, Biographia Dramatica: Containing Historical and Critical Memoirs, and Original Anecdotes of British and Irish Dramatic Writers (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown [etc.], 1812), 3.168.

21 In 1858 the play was also mistakenly attributed to Alexander Thomson, author of Whist: A Poem, In Twelve Cantos (1791), in The Irish Quarterly Review. Thomson was born in 1763. Anonymous review of Henry G. Bohn’s The Hand-Book of Games (1850), The Irish Quarterly Review 8 [no. 30] (July 1858), 442.

22 Such as Da.4 The Ghost of Eustace Budge Esqr. to the Man in Blue and Da.7 A Remarkable Cause on a Note of Hand.

23 Such as Da.9 The Chinese Orphan: An Historical Tragedy.

24 Particularly Da.7 A Remarkable Cause on a Note of Hand.

25 In my Bibliography the Da. sequence is organised chronologically by the day on which each work was issued by Haywood. The Humours of Whist was published with a Roberts imprint on 6 May 1743, but first advertised by Haywood on 10 January 1744. Since Haywood was almost certainly the sole owner of the copyright from the start, and Roberts was simply paid to put his name to the volumes and help sell and distribute it, it is not clear which of the two dates should be used to sequence this title. Fortunately, both dates fall between Da.7 and Da.8 and the question is moot.
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THE
EQUITY of PARNASSUS:
A
POEM.

Nihil Ultra.

LONDON:
Printed for C. Corbett, Bookseller and Publisher, at Abelins Head, oppisite St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-street; And sold by Mrs. Nut and Mrs. Cooke, at the Royal Exchange; Mrs. Dodd at Temple Bar; and at Mrs. Haywood's, in the great Piazza, Covent Garden.

M,DOCXLIV.
[Price ONE SHILLING.]

Figure 1: Title page, The Equity of Parnassus (1744)
Courtesy of the author.
Detail, *The Equity of Parnassus* (1744)
Courtesy of the author.
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The third category of BCN finds are advertisements for works previously unidentified as sold by Haywood. Of these there are two: Hatchett’s *The Chinese Orphan* (London: Charles Corbett, 1741) and *A Voyage to Lethe by Capt. Samuel Cock, Sometime Commander of the Good Ship the Charming Sally* (London: J. Conybeare, 1741). These two works appear in Haywood’s advertisements for *The Humours of Whist* in *The Daily Advertiser*, January 1744. One such advertisement reads:26

\[\text{This Day are publish’d, (Price 1 s.) The Humours of Whist.} \]
A Dramatick Satire. As aced at White’s, and other Coffee-Houses and Asemblies. Founded on a late notorious Fact, and very proper to be had in all Families of Condition, as a necessary Caution to the Youth of both Sexes. Printed for Eliza Haywood, at the Sign of Fame, in the Great Piazza, Covent-Garden.

Where may be had,
1. The Chinese Orphan. A Tragedy after the Chinese Manner. Price 1s. 6d.
3. Europe’s Catechism. Price 6d.

*The Chinese Orphan* was published by Charles Corbett on 3 February 1741. Although copies of a “Second” and “Third” edition from 1741 survive, no advertisements for these reissues can be located. Like *The Humours of Whist, The Chinese Orphan* was also reissued in *The Diverting Jumble* collection in October 1747. The presence of two works in *The Diverting Jumble* that were stocked and advertised by Haywood in 1744 is noteworthy, as is the fact that the collection was often advertised in close proximity to advertisements for works by Haywood. It is hoped that further investigation will reveal whether these connection between Haywood and *The Diverting Jumble* is purely coincidental.

* A Voyage to Lethe, a “comic-erotic travel narrative,”27 was published 1 December 1741 by “J. Conybeare in Smock-Ally near Petticoat-Lane in

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26 *The Daily Advertiser*, 10 January 1744; the advertisements published on the following three days are identical to this one.
Spittlefields.” Although Smock-Ally did run off Petticoat-Lane in Spittlefields, the extended use of punning on the title-page (“Dedicated to the Right Worshipful Adam Cock, Esq; Of Black-Mary’s-Hole, Coney-Skin Merchant”) suggests that the imprint is false. “J. Conybeare” does not appear in ESTC as the publisher of any other title, and only appears on the BCN text-base as the publisher of this title. From 24 December all advertisements add “and sold by Webb in Pater-noster-Row” to the imprint. Michael Treadwell identifies “W. Webb” as a stock name in false imprints, surpassing “A. Moore” in popularity in the 1740s. Since “the presence of the name Moore in an imprint is strong prima facie evidence of its falseness,” it is quite likely that both “W. Webb” and “J. Conybeare” are also false names (the latter being a transparently false one).

Haywood’s newspaper advertisement for A Voyage to Lethe appears to be one of only two witnesses for the availability of this work of erotica between 1741 and 1756, when it was reprinted. Interestingly, the other (and earlier) witness is an advertisement that appears in the first volume of Haywood’s Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman (published by Francis Cogan on 10 February 1743). It is not clear what to make of Cogan’s and Haywood’s advertisements for A Voyage to Lethe. It seems highly unlikely to be a coincidence that one year after

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32 Treadwell, 43.
33 Ab.57.1 Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman (1743), p.[7]; A Voyage to Lethe appears as item 22 in Cogan’s advertisements. Later editions (Ab.57.2–4) have slightly different lists of titles, lists that omit A Voyage to Lethe.
Cogan was advertising this work, in a book written by Haywood, that Haywood would advertising the same title herself, especially considering she had been established as a bookseller at the time of Cogan’s advertisement. The most likely explanation is that Haywood acquired stock of *A Voyage to Lethe* from Cogan by trading copies of works she published, such as her *Anti-Pamela* (1741).\(^{34}\) That she chose to advertise and sell *A Voyage to Lethe* at her Covent-Garden shop supports my belief that Haywood was likely involved in selling risqué material generally.\(^{35}\)

The fourth category of BCN finds are those that provide more information about Haywood’s publishing venture; of these there are two. Of course, all of the material discussed thus far adds something to our knowledge of Haywood’s business activities, but the advertisements that appeared in *The Daily Advertiser* on 4 and 12 April 1744 for the sale of “The genuine Household Goods of Mrs. Eliza Haywood, Publisher” are particularly valuable because they also offer an insight into Haywood’s private life.\(^{36}\) Since very few records survive concerning Haywood, and since most of the known records are of a business nature, these advertisements call for particularly close analysis. The two advertisements read:

To be Sold by HAND, This the three following Days, THE genuine Household Goods of Mrs. ELIZA HAYWOOD, Publisher, at her House in the Great Piazza, next Russell-Street, Covent-Garden, viz. a four-post Bedstead, with very neat yellow Camblet Furniture lined with Sattin, a Couch Bedstead with crimson Harrateen Furniture, and several other standing Beds, Feather Beds, Blankets, Quilts, and Counterpanes; Chimney Glassess and Sconces; Chairs, Tables, Chest of Drawers, Card Tables, Pictures, an Eight-Day Clock, Stoves, a Kitchen Range, with useful Kitchen Furniture; two Compters cover’d

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\(^{34}\) See the head notes to Ab.54 [Da.1] *Anti-Pamela*, Ab.55 [Da.6] *The Virtuous Villager* and Da.2 *The Busy Body* (Bibliography, 356–58, 366–68, 675–76) for a discussion of Haywood’s likely stock-trading.

\(^{35}\) Spedding, “Shameless Scribbler or Votary of Virtue,” 242–45.

\(^{36}\) The *Daily Advertiser*, Wednesday, 4 April 1744 and Thursday, 12 April 1744. As suggested by the introduction to this essay, these advertisements do not occur in any other surviving newspaper. If they had, they would have been located during previous searches of the *Early English Newspapers* microfilm collection. Nevertheless, after locating these advertisements I have researched the March–May issues of *The Country Journal or, The Craftsman*, *Daily Advertiser*, *Daily Gazette*, *Daily Post*, *General Advertiser*, *London Evening Post*, *London Gazette*, *Old England*, *Penny London Morning Advertiser*, *The Westminster Journal* and the *Universal Spectator*, and *Weekly Journal*. 
with green Cloth, very useful for a Milliner. Note, The House to be lett, and enter’d upon immediately.

To be Sold by HAND, This and the two following Days, the House being to be clear’d within the Time, THE remaining Part of the House, and Mrs. ELIZABETH HAYWOOD, Publisher, at her House in the Great Piazza, next Russell-Street, Covent-Garden, consisting of standing Bedsteads with Harrateen Furniture, Chimney Glassess, Sconces, Feather-Beds, Chairs, Card Tables, Stoves, and other useful Furniture, with a complete Camp-Bedstead. Note. The House to be lett and enter’d upon immediately.

The first thing to observe concerning these advertisements is that they offer clear and unambiguous evidence for the terminus ad quem of Haywood’s “Sign of Fame.” Hereafter, it is known for certain that Haywood continued at the Sign of Fame between December 1741 and April 1744. All that now remains uncertain is just how much publishing Haywood engaged in after she moved out of “her House in the Great Piazza, next Russell-Street, Covent-Garden.”

With a clear start- and end-date for “The Sign of Fame” we can now construct a revised time-line of works published or sold there:

15 December 1741: The Sublime Character published
23 February 1742: Robert Walpole... Vindicated published
25 February 1742: Europe's Catechism advertised
18 March 1742: The Virtuous Villager published; Anti-Pamela and The Busy-Body advertised
1 April 1742: The Ghost of Eustace Budge published
3 April 1742: A Remarkable Cause published
6 May 1743: The Humours of Whist published; advertised 10 January 1744
10 January 1744: The Chinese Orphan and A Voyage to Lathe advertised
7 February 1744: The Equity of Parnassus published

In 2004 I was uncertain about this; although I had estimated this period as February 1742 to February 1744 in 2001. Spedding, Bibliography, 690; Spedding, “Shameless Scribbler or Votary of Virtue,” 242.
To give us any idea of Haywood’s finances in this period, or even an idea of how busy she was, this meagre list needs to be supplemented with information on her writing (which, for Haywood, was probably her primary business activity). Between 15 December 1741 and 4 April 1744 Haywood wrote The Virtuous Villager (18 March 1742), Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman in two volumes (10 February and 23 December 1743), A Present for a Servant-Maid (20 June 1743), The Fortunate Foundlings (24 January 1744) and translated the second volume of The Sopha (28 April 1742). These six volumes contain about seventy-seven sheets, or ca. 359,000 words, of prose. 38

The second thing to observe concerning these advertisements is that they provide enough information to locate exactly where the “Sign of Fame” was: the “House in the Great Piazza, next Russell-Street, Covent-Garden” admits only one interpretation: nos. 18 and 19 Great Piazza. This is the southernmost of Sir Edmund Verney’s two houses, which sat between Covent Garden Theatre and Russell Street on the eastern side of the Piazza. All of these buildings have since been demolished 39 but The Survey of London volume covering The Piazza helpfully includes a conjectural reconstruction of this four/five story building based on detailed inventories of 1634. 40 While it is not difficult to see, from these floor plans, how Verney’s two houses were laid out, it is not so easy to see how the southernmost house was divided in two by “Samuel Bever, Esqr.” in about 1740, shortly before Haywood and Hatchett moved in. 41 Apparently, the twelve rooms of this property

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38 That is 72.25 sheets (in 12mo) and 4.75 sheets (in 8vo) or ca. 338,130 and 20,900 words respectively. Haywood would have received at least £77, possibly 77 Guineas, for this work. See my Bibliography, Appendix H, for details.

39 The eastern face of the Great Piazza is now occupied by a part of the Royal Opera House complex, most obviously by the Floral Hall. At street level in the Piazza (now called the “New Arcade”) there are a number of retail outlets. The section of Russell Street adjacent to this block is now called, in some maps, “Culverhay.” Information from “Google Maps” http://maps.google.com and “Yahoo! Local Maps” http://maps.yahoo.com, both accessed 1 April 2008; and private emails from Linda V. Troost and Markman Ellis (5 December 2008).


41 The Poor Rate records for this property list “Samuel Bever, Esqr. for Tenants”; Bever was a Justice of the Peace “of and for the County of Middlesex.” Westminster Archives, The Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, Poor Rate Book for 1742 [H52], 41; John Black and Tim
(nos. 18 and 19) were divided so that one part faced the Piazza and the other faced Russell Street. More research on this subject may make it clear precisely which rooms were occupied by the shop, but simply locating the building makes possible a more detailed exploration of Haywood’s physical and social surroundings.

Of course, these advertisements also pair the newly identified “House in the Great Piazza” that Haywood occupied, with a crude catalogue of the contents of this house, so it is possible to identify this house as definitely both Haywood’s residence and her shop. This was not previously known. The Great Piazza had many stalls and kiosks under its arches and it was possible that Haywood had a much more modest foot in Covent Garden than it now appears she did.

Looking closely at these advertisements one is struck by the richness of Haywood’s household, and its size: a four-poster bed adorned with rich yellow material lined with satin, along with at least six other beds. By my estimate Haywood would have raised at least sixty pounds through the sale of her “genuine Household Goods” (see Appendix). It must be emphasised that this sixty pounds is by no means the total value of the contents of Haywood’s house, since it excludes the value of the pictures mentioned in the advertisement (which are impossible to value without more information), and all of the smallest and most expensive items (that are not mentioned in the advertisement at all): jewellery, silverware, china, as well as clothes, and portable furnishings such carpets, chests, etc. If Haywood raised at least sixty pounds through the sale of these unwanted items, her estate was undoubtedly worth considerably more.

When Hatchett described his “Lodgings” in A Remarkable Cause on a Note of Hand (1742), it is quite likely that he was describing his lodgings with Haywood in Covent-Garden. In this pamphlet Hatchett presents
his readers with an imaginary trial. Through the deposition of lawyers, the interview of witnesses, etc., he explains how he incurred a debt of £56 to Brian Dawson. Through his outline of subsequent events, the correspondence and meetings that occurred, Hatchett seems to have hoped to embarrass Dawson into a settlement. As a part of his attack on Dawson, Hatchett describes Dawson’s surprise that, in November 1741, “very genteel People came after” Hatchett, and that, “in fine, he kept very good Company” and that he “eat and drank, and did not look like a Starveling.” Hatchett sarcastically dismisses Dawson’s “humane and genteel...Reproach” (that he was not suffering enough as a debtor), but it is not at all surprising that Dawson was mystified and annoyed to find Hatchett living in comfort while professing himself unable to repay a £56 debt due to the “state of [his] unpromising Affairs”; or to discover that Hatchett had returned from his summer vacation with Haywood in August 1741 with “no Money...other than a Trifle remaining of the Expenses of the Journey”; or to be subsequently told that Hatchett could “neither raise, nor earn, a Shilling.”

Dawson’s frustration was undoubtedly due, at least in part, to the fact that if Haywood and Hatchett had been married then Haywood’s wealth would have been accessible to Hatchett, and Dawson would probably have been able to obtain from Haywood the money that Hatchett owed him. It is obvious that both Haywood and Hatchett would have been well aware of this, and it may explain why the two never married. Since Dawson had no legal recourse to Haywood’s

1742 and that his lodgings were also his place of business. William Hatchett, *A Remarkable Cause on a Note* (London: The Author, 1742), 40, 43. See also Appendix M, Bibliography, 785–89.


47 Hatchett, *A Remarkable Cause*, 24. This summer vacation (June–August 1741) probably marks the *terminus post quem* for the “Sign of Fame,” since it seems unlikely that Haywood and Hatchett moved into Covent Garden before this vacation.


49 In a letter from 1728 Haywood mentions “the Sudden Deaths of both a Father, and a Husband, at an age when I was little prepare’d to Stem the tide of Ill fortune.” British Library Add. MS. 4293, f. 81r. Of course, it is possible that Haywood was only separated from her husband and that she pretended to be a widow in this letter in order to either elicit sympathy and to avoid the stigma of having left her husband. If she was only separated from the mysterious Mr Haywood, she would not have been able to marry Hatchett. It seems more likely—given that Haywood was prepared to face the stigma of “living in sin” with
wealth, and Hatchett claimed to have no money at all, Dawson sent in his bailiffs and kept Hatchett a prisoner in his Covent Garden house for six months.\textsuperscript{50}

Not content to imprison and publicly harass Hatchett, Dawson abused Haywood and her servants too. In \textit{A Remarkable Cause}, Hatchett complains that Dawson “has not only expos’d Us publickly among all his Acquaintance, but likewise follow’d Us even to our private lodgings, and grossly affronted the People of the House.”\textsuperscript{51} He quotes Elizabeth Baly\textsuperscript{52} as saying that, in either February or March 1742,

Mr. D—n came in [to the Shop] one Night, and affronted my Mistress and Me in a shocking Manner, without the least Provocation. In short, my Lord, he talk’d such Stuff as a Cartman would be ash’m’d of. I never saw one behave so beastly in all my Life,—And, I’m sure, I’ve known a great many in the World that have had the Misfortune to owe Money, but I never saw any one us’d so as Mr. H—t has been.\textsuperscript{53}

It is not clear what success Hatchett had in his attempt to embarrass—even humiliate—Dawson into a settlement with \textit{A Remarkable Cause}. When Hatchett had previously sent Dawson a parable in a letter, Dawson replied

\begin{quote}
I am not reduc’d to make Use of Parables to pay my Creditors; neither will I suffer my Understanding so far to be impos’d on, to give a Discharge for any Parable your fertile Brain can invent. As you have quoted Scripture, I am entitled eke so to do.—\textit{Tender unto Ceasar the Things that are Ceasars.}—That I insist on.\textsuperscript{54}
\end{quote}

Hatchett—that she chose not to marry Hatchett in order to maintain her financial independence.\textsuperscript{55}


Hatchett, \textit{A Remarkable Cause}, 40, 43.

Elizabeth Baly is described, Hatchett, \textit{A Remarkable Cause}, 40–43, as “a Maid-Servant in the House where the Defendant lodges.”

Hatchett, \textit{A Remarkable Cause}, 43–44.

Hatchett, \textit{A Remarkable Cause}, 33.
It is unlikely that Hatchett was successful in his use of “Parables to pay [his] Creditors,” but there is no record of the case having gone to court, and Haywood and Hatchett remained in Covent Garden for another two years. It is possible that Hatchett paid this “implacable” creditor, piecemeal, as he’d offered to do from the start, but it is also possible that Haywood wound up “The Sign of Fame” to clear Hatchett’s debts (a subject that I will return to shortly).

The 1744 inventory of household goods provided by the two Daily Advertiser advertisements, that are examined in detail in the Appendix to this article, suggests that Haywood and Hatchett were certainly in a position to keep “very genteel” company in Covent Garden. The inventory also supports Hatchett’s (implied) claim that Haywood and he had a number of employees, who he refers to as “the People of the House.” Moreover, if Hatchett had “no Money,” and could “neither raise, nor earn, a Shilling,” then Haywood must have been the one who supported Hatchett, covered the costs of the household, including the staff, and maintained the expense of keeping such genteel company in Covent Garden.

We do not know why Haywood and Hatchett moved in April 1744. A number of possibilities suggest themselves, but each of these depend on our perception of Haywood’s finances and her desire or ability to write. Haywood managed to write seventy-seven sheets of prose in just over two years, while running her shop in Covent Garden, so it was certainly possible—as long as her health held up—for her to stay in Covent Garden she wrote another ninety-six in the following two years (as she did, elsewhere). Instead, Haywood moved. She may have decided to sell up from Covent Garden because she did not need the extra money that the shop was bringing in on top of her writing, or because it was too much of a strain on her to continue to write and manage the shop. Of course, this assumes that the shop was as profitable as Hatchett’s account suggests; if it were not profitable, then the decision to sell up may have

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55 Curiously, it is almost exactly two years between the publication of Hatchett’s A Remarkable Cause (on 3 April 1742) and the appearance of the first advertisement for the sale of Haywood’s household goods (4 April 1744).

56 Hatchett, A Remarkable Cause, 36: “There seems nothing wanting to compleat the Inhumanity of the Plaintiff, my Lord, but an implacable persisting in it: And, indeed, he bids fair to become inexorable—nay, he seems to glory in being so.” Hatchett, A Remarkable Cause, 28–29: “I propose to pay him Ten Pounds per Annum till the Bond is discharged; that is…to commence at Christmas next.”
been prompted by a desire to clear any accumulate business debts, and
make a fresh start with the regular income that writing The Female Spectator
was bound to provide. It is also possible that the sale was prompted by the
desire to clear personal debts, specifically Hatchett’s £56 debt to Dawson.
Unfortunately, there is no way of choosing between such possibilities on
the evidence available.

We also do not know where Haywood and Hatchett moved to in
April 1744. Since Haywood was likely to have been quite well paid for
her Female Spectator, which appeared between the time of her move and
May 1746, her financial situation should have remained strong—and
stable—for at least another two years. 57 Thereafter, it seems Haywood
was often ill and the couple struggled financially. Both The Parrot (2
August—4 October 1746) and Epistles for the Ladies (15 November
1748—16 May 1749; 30 June 1750) seem to have ground to a halt due to
Haywood’s ill-health 58 and in January 1750 Haywood told Lovell Stanhope that she “has lost her Eye sight about Six months & kept her
Bed above two months.” 59

We also do not know how long Haywood and Hatchett had been
living in Durham Yard when a warrant was issued on 6 December 1749
“to make strict and diligent Search for the Author, Printer and Pub­
lisher” of A Letter from H—— G——g, eight hundred copies of which
were found at her Durham Yard lodgings. 60 According to The Survey of
London Durham Yard was a slum, and by 1767 practically all the
buildings were in ruins. 61 Clearly, Haywood and Hatchett’s financial
situation had deteriorated dramatically in the course of the previous
three years. Haywood does not appear in the Poor Rate Books for
Durham Yard either before or after her arrest; however, there were
many anonymous assessments, as Catherine Ingrassia noted in 1998, 62
and Haywood could have been one of them, or she could have been

57 Bibliography, 432.
58 Bibliography, 501, 502-4.
59 Bibliography, 756; citing Public Records Office, SP 36/112/24.
60 Philip Carteret Webb comp., Copies Taken from the Records of the Court of King’s-Bench, at
Westminster (London: Printed in the Year 1763), 45–46 (no. 103); Bibliography, 521–22, 757.
December 2008.
62 Catherine Ingrassia, Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England: A
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subletting as she did in Covent Garden. (In the three years after her arrest, Haywood and Hatchett’s situation improved dramatically.)

If Haywood sold all of her household goods one must also wonder how she lived without a bed, table, lighting or kitchen equipment. It is possible that either Haywood or Hatchett was given or inherited other—presumably better—household goods, and sold their existing goods, but this does not explain why the couple moved. The putative gift may have included property as well, but this seems highly unlikely given the financial troubles that developed so soon afterwards. Haywood may have moved into furnished accommodation, and no longer needed her household goods. Alternatively, she may have decided to move into much more modest accommodation, selling only the items she no longer needed. This third possibility may appear be the most likely but, once again, there is no way of choosing between these possibilities on the evidence available.

While our perception of Haywood’s finances may have a significant influence on our interpretation of the motives for her actions, Haywood’s publishing activity at the “Sign of Fame” is now far less open to speculation. We know exactly how long this publishing venture lasted; the number of works known to be published and sold there has been increased and these works have been more accurately dated. We also know exactly where Haywood lived and worked, have a floor-plan of her lodgings and a crude catalogue of the contents of this house. And if one minutely examines the drawings, paintings and engravings of this section of Covent Garden from the period one can easily imagine a painting of Fama Bona—in flowing white robes, with wings stretched

63 Haywood moved into 2 Cowley Street, Westminster at some point between 17 April 1752 and 11 May 1753; perhaps after she had been paid for *The History of Jenny and Jenny Jessamy* (published 9 December 1752). See Westminster Archive: Poor Rate Book E386, St. Margaret’s Parish, St. John’s Ward (11 May 1753), 37. The names, rent and rates in the Rate Books were prepared in advance from the previous year’s records; the book was then annotated as the tax collector went about their rounds. On Tuesday, 11 May 1753 “Stonehouse” was crossed out and “Haywood” written above it.


out behind her, a golden trumpet held to her lips by her right hand, and a laurel wreath or an olive branch raised in her other—on a wooden board swinging above the figures who pass along the arcade and into Haywood's shop.

* Appendix: The Household of Goods of Eliza Haywood in 1744 *

To be Sold by HAND, This the three following Days, THE genuine Household Goods of Mrs. ELIZA HAYWOOD, Publisher, at her House in the Great Piazza, next Russell-Street, Covent-Garden, viz. a four-post Bedstead, with very neat yellow Camblet Furniture lined with Sattin, a Couch Bedstead with crimson Harrateen Furniture, and several other standing Beds, Feather Beds, Blankets, Quilts, and Counterpanes; Chimney Glassess and Sconces; Chairs, Tables, Chest of Drawers, Card Tables, Pictures, an Eight-Day Clock, Stoves, a Kitchen Range, with useful Kitchen Furniture; two Compters cover'd with green Cloth, very useful for a Milliner. Note, The House to be lett, and enter'd upon immediately.

To be Sold by HAND, This and the two following Days, the House being to be clear'd within the Time, THE remaining Part of the Houshold Goods or Mrs. ELIZABETH HAYWOOD, Publisher, at her House in the Great Piazza, next Russell-Street, Covent-Garden, consisting of standing Bedsteads with Harrateen Furniture, Chimney-Glassess, Sconces, Feather-Beds, Chairs, Card Tables, Stoves, and other useful Furniture, with a complete Camp Bed-


66 *Daily Advertiser*, Wednesday, 4 April 1744 [no. 4123]; alphanumeric references have been added to ease analysis and comparison.
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stead.[B6] Note. The House to be lett and enter'd upon immediately.67

A1, “a four-post Bedstead, with very neat yellow Camblet Furniture lined with Sattin”: this is probably the furniture from the master-bedroom. Yellow “Camblet” is a “beautiful and costly eastern fabric”;68 in this case probably a rich golden-yellow material made of Angora wool and silk. As Esther Singleton writes “The true glory of the bed...was its hangings. Not infrequently, they were very luxurious in texture and rich in colour,” as here. The value of a four-poster bed varied considerably, depending on its condition, the type of mattress and the quality of the fabric, but if the bed was comparable to those in Christopher Cock’s December 1740 sale, in the Great Piazza, then it could have sold for between two and five pounds.69

A2, “a Couch Bedstead with crimson Harrateen Furniture”: is probably the bed of a servant. Crimson harrateen is a rich linen fabric. If the sale inventory is organized on a room-by-room basis, as appears to be the case, then this may be the bed of Haywood’s personal servant. In Cock’s December 1740 sale a couch-bed sold for only eight shillings, but they could cost much more when richly furnished: as much, in fact, as Haywood’s four-poster.70

A3, “several other standing Beds, Feather Beds, Blankets, Quilts, and Counterpanes” (=B1, “standing Bedsteads with Harrateen Furniture” and B3, “Feather-Beds”): the plurals here suggest at least four more beds (at least two standing beds and two feather beds) and linen.

67 Daily Advertiser, Thursday, 12 April 1744 [no. 4130]; alphanumeric references added.
68 OED, cam/et, n.1a.
70 Singleton, Social New York, 7: “1 A Couch bedstead, with blue Ensay furniture — 0 8 0”; A Particular and Inventory of All and Singular the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, Debts, and Personal Estate Whatsoever, of William Morley, Esq (London: Jacob Tonson, 1721), 3: “A Stuff Couch-Bed and Bedding for a Servant 5 0 0.”
A standing bed is distinguished from a "low bed running on truckles or castors, usually pushed beneath a high or 'standing' bed when not in use." Such beds varied in value between one and three pounds, depending on the quality and condition of bedding, linen etc. A fine goose feather bed was more expensive, selling for about four pounds. The total for these beds would be about eight to ten pounds.

A4, “Chimney Glassess and Sconces” (=B2, “Chimney-Glassess, Sconces”): a chimney glass is a mirror, usually a large mirror fitted on the chimney above a fire-place, while a sconce is a branched bracket-candlestick usually attached to a wall, especially “an ornamental bracket for holding one or more candles, often fitted with a mirror.” The sconces and chimney glasses are both types of eighteenth-century lighting fixtures, since candles were positioned in front of mirrors to increase the amount of light they gave off. The value of mirrors in 1744, as now, depends on the size of a mirror and the nature of its frame. A 20 x 40 inch [50 x 100cm] mirror commanded two guineas in 1740, a 25 x 46 inch [63 x 115cm] mirror, three pounds, but smaller chimney glasses in simple frames fetched as little as fifteen shillings. Since a large mirror, with a candelabra attached to the frame could be referred to as a “sconce,” these sconces commanded similarly high prices, higher, in fact, since a large mirror with an ornate frame and a pair of ornate candelabra, was worth more than the same mirror in a plain frame. Consequently, sconces ranged in price, from one to five pounds. The (plural) mirrors and (plural) sconces suggest a house in which many rooms had elaborate fixed lighting.

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71 OED, standing, ppl. a. 5.1b standing bed (or bedstead): “a high bedstead, as distinguished from a trundle-bed”; ibid., truckle-bed: “A low bed running on truckles or castors, usually pushed beneath a high or ‘standing’ bed when not in use; a trundle-bed. So trundle bedstead.”


73 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 12: “2 A fine goose feather bed, bolster, and 2 pillows — 4 4 O.”

74 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 4: “5 A large chimney glass, the middle plate 46 inches by 25 [115 x 63.5cm] — 3 0 O”; 18: “2 A chimney glass in a wallnuttree and gilt frame, the middle plate 40 inches by 20 [100 x 51cm] — 2 2 O”; 8: “A chimney glass in a glass frame — 0 18 O”; 11: “1 A Chimney glass in a black frame — 0 15 O.”

75 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 4: “15 A large sconce, in a mahogany carved and gilt frame — 4 0 O”; 9: “26 A large sconce in a rich carv’d and gilt frame — 5 0 O”; 13: “9 A large sconce in a rich carv’d and gilt frame with arms, the plate 40 inches by 26 [100 x 66cm] — 4 4 O”; 16: “29 A sconce in a walnuttree frame — 1 0 O”; 18: “6 A sconce in a wallnuttree and gilt frame — 1 6 O.”
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in addition to whatever temporary lighting (or extra lighting) was afforded by portable candelabra. The total for such fixed lighting would be about eight to ten pounds.

A5, “Chairs, Tables...Card Tables” (=B4, “Chairs, Card Tables”): it is not clear how many chairs and tables are indicated by this entry. Since there are tables (plural) and card tables (plural), there must have been at least four tables and in excess of eight—possibly sixteen—chairs, though it is possible that there are dressing tables included here which would normally only required a single chair or stool. A pillar and claw table, or a chamber table, were considerably cheaper that a bed or a mirror, and could be bought for between ten shillings and one guineas, a tea-table for even less; a large mahogany dining table and a set of six chairs for about three guineas, otherwise chairs could be had for a couple of shillings each. Card tables, some with decorated leather tops, sold consistently for one pound five shillings in 1740. A conservative minimum for these items would be about seven guineas. Any bed, corner, elbow or easy chairs, would quickly increase this amount.

A6, “Chest of Drawers”: these varied in price according to the timber used, from about one pound (for walnut or mahogany) to over four pounds (rosewood).

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76 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 5: “17 A mahogany pillar and claw table — 0 10 0”;
8 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 8: “27 A japan tea table — 0 8 0”;
11: “14 A walnut-tree chamber table — 0 10 0.”
77 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 6: “12 A large mahogany table on a claw — 0 15 0”;
9: “22 A mahogany dining table — 1 1 0”; 4: “10 Six mahogany chairs covered with blue mohair — 2 10 0”; 11: “13 Six walnut-tree chairs, matted seats — 2 2 0.”
78 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 7: “8 Twelve walnut-tree banister back chairs, covered with damask — 1 4 0,” or two shillings each.
79 Four are listed, all at the same price. See ibid., 13: “11 A walnut tree card table, leather cover — 1 5 0”;
13 “12 Ditto 1 5 0”; 19: “16 A walnut-tree card table — 1 5 0”; 20: “15 A walnut-tree card table — 1 5 0.”
80 That is, a dining table and chairs (3 3 0), one other table (0 10 0), and twelve chairs (1 4 0) for it and two card tables (2 10 0).
81 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 16: “25 A bed chair cover’d with flower’d silk — 1 0 0”;
11: “16 A walnut-tree corner chair, leather seat — 0 12 0”; 11: “17 An elbow chair on brass castors — 0 15 0”; 3: “8 An easy chair and cushion, cover’d with flower’d velvet — 1 0 0.”
82 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 17: “43 A mahogany dressing chest with drawers — 1 0 0”;
18: “9 A mahogany chest with drawers — 1 1 0”; 11: “10 A fine walnut-tree chest with drawers — 1 8 0”; 9: “23 A fine rose wood chest, with drawers on a frame — 4 10 0”.
12: “10 A fine rose wood chest with drawers — 4 10 0.”
A7, “Pictures.” In auction catalogues such as Cock’s paintings (and art generally) were left without prices/estimates, presumably because it was too difficult to estimate the amount such items would sell.83

A8, “an Eight-Day Clock”: these varied, depending on the sophistication of the movement and decoration, between three and six pounds.84

A9, “Stoves, a Kitchen Range, with useful Kitchen Furniture” (=B5, “Stoves, and other useful Furniture”): it is possible that “useful Kitchen Furniture” means kitchen tables, food cupboards, fenders etc, but it seems more likely that “furniture” here means furnishings: all the objects that furnish a kitchen: bellows, cinder-shovel, gridiron, dripping-pan, pots, pans, kettles, coffee pots, knives, cleavers, chopping blocks, mortar and pestle, scales etc. The stove and kitchen range were worth about one pound each,85 the furniture is very difficult to estimate. However, the Cock sale does include in its fourth day the complete contents of “The Kitchen and Offices.” The total for this section amounts to about twelve guineas.86

A10, “two Compters cover’d with green Cloth, very useful for a Milliner”: a compter is the “table in a shop on which the money paid by purchasers is counted out, and across which goods are delivered”;87 i.e., a counter. A cloth-covered shop-counter would not only be useful for a milliner, since it would protect bolts of cloth from dirt, catching on splinters, etc, it would also have been useful for booksellers such as Haywood, since it would protect unbound sheets, sheets in wrappers,

83 See, for example, Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 6: “7 The fall of the Angels, after Rubens”; 6 “10 Abraham offering up Isaac, Flemish”; 6 “11 Vandyke’s head with sun flowers.”
84 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 11: “5 An eight day clock, in a black case — 3 3 0”; 17: “33 An eight day clock in a fine wallnuttree case, with the celestial motions — 6 6 0”; 21: “36 An eight day clock in a japan case, glass door — 4 4 0.”
85 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 18: “1 A Large stove compleat — 0 10 0”; 5: “5 A large steel stove compleat — 1 1 0”; 20: “1 A Large steel stove compleat — 1 1 0”; 11 “7 A stove grate compleat, and brass fender — 1 1 0.”
86 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 14–15: the thirty lots list over two hundred separate items, including seventy pewter plates etc priced at “6d per pound.” I have estimated these items as averaging one pound (in weight) each, giving a total price of 17s 12d; the other lots total £11 14s (= £12 11s 12d).
87 OED, counter, n.3 4. a. “A banker’s or money-changer’s table; also, the table in a shop on which the money paid by purchasers is counted out, and across which goods are delivered.” The editors cite: (Henry Fielding), The Letter-Writers: or, A New Way to Keep a Wife at Home. A Farce, in Three Acts. As it is Acted at the Theatre in the Hay-Market. Written by Scriblerus Secundus (London: J. Roberts, 1731), 22: “2 Wh[ore]. You a Lord [?], you are some Attorney’s Clerk or Haberdasher’s ‘Prentis. 1 Wh[ore]. Do you sit behind a Desk, or stand behind a compter?”
and the bindings of books from abrasion. The value of such purpose-built counters would depend very much on the timber they were made of and the decoration added. In 1740, for example, a mahogany “counting house” (a compter) was listed at five pounds among the “Ware-House” furniture at auction.88

B6, “with a complete Camp-Bedstead”: in 1758 Peter Hudson estimated the cost of a folding camp bed at over two guineas,89 far more than a couch-bed or a low or truckle-bed, that was stored under a standing-bed (see A3 above).90 References to such beds are uncommon, suggesting that it was a specialist-produced object.

Cumulative totals: A1 (estimate £2–£5 [likely amount £5]), A2 (8s–£5 [£2]), A3 (£8–£10 [£9]), A4 (£8–£10 [£9]), A5 (£7 7s+ [£8]), A6 (£1–£4 [£2]), A7 (?), A8 (£3–£6 [£5]), A9 (£12 12s [£12 12s]), A10 (£5? [£5]), B6 (£2 2s [£2 2s]). Total estimate: £49 9s–£67 1s, likely amount £59 14s.

88 Catalogue of the Particulars of the Dwelling House (1740), 7: “A mahogany counting house — 5 0 0.”
89 Peter Hudson, A New Introduction to Trade and Business; Very Useful for Young Gentlemen and Young Ladies (London: Paul Vaillant [and five others], 1758), 39 “[Lot] 113. A folding Camp-bedstead with green Furniture 2 10 —.”
90 A Particular and Inventory of All and Singular the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, Debts, and Personal Estate Whatsoever, which Thomas Reynolds, Esq….[London: Jacob Tonson, 1721], 16: “1 Truckle-Bed old [0] 2 6.”